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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

October 1983

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in September 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Brayton, Abbott A. "The Politics of Arms Limitations in Africa." African Studies Review, March 1983, pp. 73-89.

Brayton suggests that African countries are practicing a pattern of military restraint, refuting the popular view of Africa as a continent gripped by political chaos, uncontrolled conflict, and in the midst of an arms race. Brayton's thesis is supported by numerous statistics.

Bukarambe, Bukar. "Conflict and Conflict Management in Africa: The Role and Impact of the OAU in the Management of African Conflicts." Survival, March/April 1983, pp. 50-57.

Attempts to assess the OAU's management of conflicts in Africa. Particular attention is paid to the causes of conflicts, the OAU's security environment, its role, and impact. Lack of commitment by member nations appears to be the biggest problem. Finally, reforms are suggested.

Le Gloannec, A. M. "L'Allemagne et l'Afrique: Une Prudence Efficace (Germany and Africa: Effective Prudence)." Politique Africaine, June 1983, pp. 7-23.

West Germany's involvement in Africa is contrasted with those of other former colonial powers and the United States. German interest in Africa grew significantly in the 1970s as a result of the Soviet Union's increased involvement in Africa, Germany's rise as an international economic power, and the fact that Africa was a particular interest of H. D. Genscher, West German Foreign Minister in 1975. Today West Germany's policies are shaped by a complex array of interests, including those of political parties, business and finance, and private foundations. The paradox of West Germany's policies--which the author characterizes as hesitant, contradictory, resulting from compromise, and appearing to have little coherence--is that they have been largely successful. Germany's image among Africa's general population and leaders is favorable.

"Southern Africa: The Oil Weapon." Africa Confidential, 30 March 1983, pp. 1-3.

Looks at the oil consumption, production, and supply lines of each of the member states of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). With five guerrilla groups active throughout the region, sabotage of strategic installations is expected to increase in the near future, especially in Angola and Mozambique. And as long as the ANC is active in South Africa, the frontline states will be subject to retaliatory raids by the SADF or its proxies--some of these attacks undoubtedly will be against fuel supplies and refineries. Despite efforts by the SADCC to lessen South Africa's dominant role in the region, South Africa will continue to play the major role in Southern Africa. It is highly unlikely that Lesotho, Botswana, or

Swaziland ever will escape South African domination, especially where fuel supplies are concerned.

Welch, Claude E., Jr. "Military Disengagement from Politics." Armed Forces and Society, Summer 1983, pp. 541-54.

Discusses the role of the African military in politics. Based on the examples of Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone, the author concludes that even though the military may not always be the ruling force, it has become more involved in politics. The dictum that "politics is not for soldiers" has become less relevant as the military sees itself as a force for accomplishment and change.

#### CAMEROON

"Cameroun: La Rupture Biya-Ahidjo (Cameroon: The Biya-Ahidjo Rupture)." Jeune Afrique, 7 September 1983, pp. 30-35.

Paul Biya has consolidated his power and excluded pro-Ahidjo forces. He has denounced old politicians by declaring that there was a plot against the republic to install a police state. Ahidjo has been removed as head of the Cameroon National Union, the only legal party and southerners have replaced Ahidjo's former northern backers. But Biya must still reckon with old politicians and prove himself.

#### CHAD

"Chad: Now What?" Africa Confidential, 7 September 1983, pp. 5-7.

The French role in Chad and leading Chadian and French personalities currently involved there are emphasized. Pro-Libyans among Mitterrand's communist allies may have caused French hesitation in answering Habre's call for assistance. Habre's grip on political and military power is discussed and insights into personalities are presented.

Doyle, Mark. "External Forces Join the War." West Africa, 19 August 1983, pp. 1868-70.

Focuses on foreign forces and influences in the Chad civil war. French efforts to disclaim a secondary role to the Americans are highlighted.

Forrestier, Patrick. "Kadhafi, Va-t-il Decider de Poursuivre l'Escalade (Qadhafi: Will He Decide to Escalate)?" Paris Match, 29 July 1983, pp. 40-41.

A description of French efforts to help Hissene Habre turn back the rebel offensive which threatens the capital of N'Djamena. French military personnel and weapons are described. The capabilities of the national forces are assessed, and speculation on Qadhafi's next move is hazarded.

"La France Tape Enfin du Poing (France Finally Delivers a Fist)." Paris Match, 2 September 1983, pp. 24-29.

Largely a pictorial account of the French initiative in support of President Hissene Habre of Chad. The photos demonstrate the quality and sophistication of weapons and highlight the level of the French commitment.

Robbs, Peter. "France Holds the Line in Chad." Africa Economic Digest, 26 August 1983, pp. 2-4.

A two-part article which discusses the political and military aspects of the newest episode of the Chad civil war as well as its economic aspects. France's role in the present hostilities, which has resulted in stalemate and virtual division of the country, are discussed.

Soudan, Francois. "Tchad: Ce Que Mitterrand n'a pas Dit (Chad: What Mitterrand Didn't Say)." Jeune Afrique, 7 September 1983, pp. 44-47.

An analysis of behind-the-scenes maneuvering in France which might account for France's tardiness in becoming involved in the latest Chad imbroglio. Habre is neither liked nor trusted by most of France's Socialist Africanists, and it is feared that he is only shouting wolf to get greater arms commitments. US and Libyan influences are also discussed.

"Tchad: Pourquoi La France s'Engage (Chad: Why Did France Get Involved)?" Jeune Afrique, 31 August 1983, pp. 36 and 43.

Speculates on why France finally sent troops to prevent the fall of the Habre government. US and Libyan involvement is also studied. Forces within France's Socialist government which tugged for and against speedy and heavy involvement are also discussed.

#### CONGO

"Congo: The Revolution Goes West." Africa Confidential, 7 September 1983, pp. 1-4.

To resuscitate the flagging economy, President Sassou Nguesso has begun to solicit Western financial support and expertise despite attempts by pro-Soviet hardliners in the ruling Congolese Workers' Party to block these measures. Some international circles view Congolese politics as exerting a direct influence on events in Angola; they perceive the Congo's shift away from the Soviet orbit as a prerequisite for a UNITA victory in Angola.

Schissel, Howard. "Parties and Presidents." West Africa, 8 August 1983, pp. 1813-15. "Slamming on the Brakes." West Africa, 15 August 1983, pp. 1882-85.

Outlines the Congo's political history in which the emergence of Sassou Nguesso in 1979 is viewed as a victory for the ruling party's left wing. Although Sassou Nguesso's rise coincides with the country's growing wealth from oil revenues, his recent overtures to the West have caused ripples within the party which could adversely effect his pragmatic policies. Schissel also explores the ramifications of the Congo's sudden oil wealth and the resulting problems as the country develops higher expectations and faces a drop in oil prices.

GHANA

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "After the Coup Attempt." West Africa, 4 July 1983, pp. 1546-48.

Details the events of 19 June 1983 including the takeover of the GBC radio station and its recapture by loyal government troops. Lists the soldiers involved and those persons wanted in connection with the foiled coup attempt.

Tipple, Susan and Tipple, Graham. "The Use of Student Protest." West Africa, 18 July 1983, pp. 1654-55.

Examines the 4 May 1983 raid by mineworkers on the campus of the University of Science and Technology. Discusses the "rent-a-crowd" tactics of the PNDC and the attitudes of clergymen and workers to the violence of student confrontations.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho Prime Minister Under Attack." New African, April 1983, pp. 21-22.

In this rather informal interview, Lesotho's Prime Minister Dr. Leabua Jonathan discusses recent developments in Lesotho-South African relations. Jonathan believes that South Africa is trying to destabilize his regime as well as other governments in Southern Africa.

MALAWI

Langellier, Jean-Pierre. "Fin de Regne Au Malawi (The End of a Regime in Malawi)." Le Monde, 16 August 1983, p. 4; 17 August 1983, p. 4.

President Banda's 25-year rule is examined in this two-part series on Malawi. His regime has been characterized by tranquility and social peace, in marked contrast to the ethnic and religious battles of previous years. However, the Banda regime practices total repression which shuns any kind of political liberty and leads to speculation on the succession question. Also examines economic and agricultural conditions in Malawi.

MOZAMBIQUE

Egero, Bertie. "Mozambique Before the Second Phase of Socialist Development." Review of African Political Economy, September/December 1982, pp. 83-91.

In 1980, President Machel initiated a series of actions against inefficiency and corruption known as "The Political and Organizational Offensive." Since then, the Offensive has become a permanent feature of "class struggle." Egero concentrates on the influence of the Offensive on political development up to the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO.

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NAMIBIA

"Namibia: The Last Charade." Africa Confidential, 16 March 1983, pp. 1-2.

States that there is no hope of an internationally acceptable settlement concerning Namibia in the foreseeable future. Contends that South Africa's

policy is to avoid "completely" the possibility of a SWAPO electoral victory--even if all Cuban troops are pulled out of Angola. Accordingly, South Africa's policy rests on military operations in Angola to weaken the MPLA government to a point where it either collapses or withdraws support from SWAPO, and to build simultaneously a new black and white party in Namibia as a prelude to eventual internal elections. The exact role that UNITA will play is still unclear, but South Africa could support the creation of a new state made up of parts of northern Namibia and southern Angola with Savimbi at its head. The rest of Namibia would be ruled by whites and blacks. The Namibian issue is still being debated in South Africa. For the present, South Africa continues to rely on its military to protect its interests.

Toetmeyer, Gerhard K. H. South West Africa/Namibia: Facts, Attitudes, Assessment, and Prospects. Randburg, South Africa: Fokus Suid Publishers, 1977, 322 pp. Reviewed by Richard Dale (Southern Illinois University at Carbondale) in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol. 15, no. 4 (1982), pp. 742-43.

According to the reviewer, this is by far the best book in print on the political party system of Namibia. The author, a native-born Namibian, was educated in South Africa and currently heads the Department of Political Science at the University of Transkei in Umtata.

#### NIGERIA

Adekon, J.'Bayo. Nigeria in Search of a Stable Civil-Military System. Boulder: Westview Press, Inc., 1981, 164 pp.

A critical study of the evolution and conduct of military governments and civil-military relations in Nigeria since 1970. Contains statistical information on military expenditures from 1970 to 1980.

Dent, Martin. "Conflict and Reconciliation in Nigeria: The Approach to the Elections." Conflict Studies, London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1983, 27 pp.

Examines the roles of the president and state governors and their relationship with the Nigerian legislature. Discusses the potential for physical violence between political parties and concludes that the major task of the presidential winner will be to clean up financial corruption.

"An Era of Consolidation." Africa Now, August 1983, pp. 41-52.

A collection of speeches by President Shagari prior to the 1983 election. Discusses the achievements made by the National Party of Nigeria during the first Shagari administration. Includes a look at foreign and domestic policy objectives.

Owunwanne, A. "Power with Responsibility." West Africa, 18 July 1983, pp. 1662-63.

Discusses the need for alternatives to "state creation" in Nigeria; includes a look at the existing states and the political and economic ramifications of creating more states.

Tijjani, Aminu, and Williams, David, eds. Shehu Shagari: My Vision of Nigeria. London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1981, 424 pp.

A collection of President Shehu Shegari's speeches since his election in 1979. The speeches are grouped by subject and cover the armed forces, industrial development, African unity, and political parties.

SIERRA LEONE

Cole, Bernadette. "China's Hand of Friendship." West Africa, 25 July 1983, pp. 1712-14.

A brief look at economic and cultural cooperation between China and Sierra Leone. Details projects undertaken by the Chinese such as the building of roads and bridges, development of hyrdoelectric power schemes, and medical exchanges.

"The Issues at Stake." West Africa, 18 July 1983, pp. 1647-49.

Discusses the major concerns and issues presently affecting Sierra Leone, including atrocities in the Pujehun District, inadequate public transport, diamond smuggling, and the allocation of low cost housing. Examines statements by various members of Parliament on these issues.

SOUTH AFRICA

"ANC President Speaks." Southern Africa, January/February 1983, pp. 13-15.

An interview with ANC President Oliver Tambo. Contains standard anti-apartheid rhetoric. Critical of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" toward Pretoria. Underscores the "solidarity" between South African and American blacks.

D'Oliveira, John. "Botha's Gamble." The Washington Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 1 (Winter 1983), pp. 146-51.

D'Oliveira, a former political correspondent and political editor for the Johannesburg Star, looks at the short- and long-term impact of Prime Minister Botha's new constitutional "power sharing" plan. Although it is still too early to tell, the author believes that Botha's policy is the first step in the right direction. He states: "It is clear that the government intends a drastic revision of its policy toward the country's black people--once the new constitutional arrangements for whites, Coloureds, and Asians is well under way." He credits Botha with "subjugating the interests of Afrikaner nationalism" to broaden the base of the National Party. If Botha's policies are successful, he concludes, then South Africa will be on its way to solving its problems.

Khatami, James. "Attacks Mark Growing ANC Strength." Southern Africa, February 1983, pp. 18-20.

Khatami, a "prolberation" freelance journalist, reports that according to a secret CIA report and several South African studies, ANC actions are "occurring with increasing frequency and effectiveness." The author warns

that as the number of ANC attacks increases, the South African government most likely will increase its efforts to undermine ANC support and destroy its bases in neighboring black states. And "US businessmen and diplomats could be personally threatened, particularly if Blacks believe--as many already do--that the United States tacitly supports the (apartheid) policy of the South African government." The article also discusses changes in ANC attack strategy.

"The MCM (Mine Counter-measure) Flotilla: SA Navy's Ships of Wood; Men of Steel." Paratus (Pretoria), March 1983, pp. 14-15.

An overview of the MCM Flotilla (with photos). Based at Simonstown, the Flotilla is the largest in the South African Navy. In addition to standard naval training, the Flotilla runs its own specialist mine-sweeping courses. A great emphasis reportedly is placed on close cooperation between its sea-going and shore-support sections.

"South Africa: Budget (1983-84)." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 March-14 April 1983, pp. 6807-09.

An analysis of the FY83-84 South African central government budget. Defense allocations rose 15.9 percent over FY82-83 figures. The defense budget is R3.1 billion, the police budget is R565 million, and the prisons budget is R233 million.

Southall, Roger. South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an "Independent" Bantustan. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983, 338 pp.

An overview of the Transkei homeland. Focuses on the role of the Transkei as a labor reserve for South Africa. Gives insight into the emergence of class structures in Transkei as a result of collaboration with white South Africa.

"'We are ready!'" Paratus (Pretoria), February 1983, pp. 18-20 and 37.

An interview with Vice-Admiral A. P. Putter, Chief of the South African Navy since September 1982. In addition to biographical information, the article contains Admiral Putter's views of South African naval strategy, SAFMARINE (South Africa's national carrier), the SA Coast Guard, naval hardware, manpower problems, inter-armed forces cooperation, etc.

Wilkens, Ivor, and Strydom, Hans. The Broederbond. New York and London: Paddington Press, 1979, 458 pp. Reviewed by Alan R. Booth (Ohio University) in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol. 15, no. 3 (1982), pp. 490-91.

An excellent and well-researched history of the South African Broederbond from its inception in the mid-1930s to 1979. This book lists 7,500 of the Broederbond's 12,000 members in 1979.

SWAZILAND

Sowerby, Norman. "Swaziland: Why the Prime Minister Fled." New African, May 1983, pp. 22-23.

Speculates that Prime Minister Mabandala was dismissed by the powerful Liqoqo (Council of State) and the Queen Regent primarily because he opposed

the negotiated acquisition of the Kwazulu and Ingwavuma territories from South Africa. Also discusses why the late King Sobhuza chose Mabandala as his Prime Minister. Predicts that there will be other changes in the Swazi Government. This article predates the ouster of the Queen Regent by the Liqoqo in August 1983.

#### UPPER VOLTA

Soudan, Francois. "Qui a Peur de Sankara (Who's Afraid of Sankara)?" Jeune Afrique, 31 August 1983, pp. 46-47.

The new government's rhetoric and the formation of Defense Committees of the Revolution have created a sensation in Upper Volta as well as in its neighbors. The popularity of Captain Sankara among the rural peasants and city dwellers is enormous; however, he is cautioned to be careful because he is alone at the top.

"Timetable For a Revolution." West Africa, 15 August 1983, pp. 1870-72.

A running account of events during the successful coup by Captain Thomas Sankara and the National Council for the Revolution in Upper Volta.

#### ZAIRE

Coleman, Gordon C. "US Foreign Policy to Zaire - Should It Change?" Unpublished paper presented at the US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, on 19 April 1983.

A strategic assessment and economic analysis of Zaire are presented. US foreign policy toward Zaire is examined under the premise that national security must be a primary consideration of US foreign policy in any region. He concludes that the United States has no alternative but to support the Mobutu regime because of Zaire's size, central location, and mineral resources.

Serrallonga, Francesc. "Terreur et Resistance (Terror and Resistance)." Afrique-Asie, 17 July 1983, pp. 32-34.

Despite repression by the Mobutu dictatorship, popular indignation with a progressively lower standard of living erupts from time to time in the form of sporadic and isolated strikes. The presence of Israeli military advisers has aroused negative feelings in the armed forces. Serrallonga suggests that Zaire is today in a phase of "consciousness raising" and that political struggle against the current regime is in an embryonic stage.

#### ZIMBABWE

Caute, David. Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1983, 447 pp.

A detailed account of the last years of white rule in Rhodesia. Despite fears among the white population that their standard of living would be undermined by the rise of blacks to power, their life style has remained "exceptionally high" since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. The only radical changes in Zimbabwe have been "cultural and psychological" as far as the whites are concerned.